

Graden concludes this sorry tale of continuing repression and delayed implementation of emancipation by looking at the lamented episode of Canudos, immortalized by Euclýdes da Cunha. In this interior Bahian town (actually the second largest in the state) all the horrors of slavery were reenacted, as the police and army cut down lay worshippers of diverse race and ethnicity who had revolted against the official Catholic Church as well as against the domination of the central government and its representative stationed far away on the coast.

Graden is to be congratulated for an unusually skillful telling of the complicated tale of emancipation in Brazil. This is a subject that will continue to fascinate Brazilians and outsiders who want to know what will be the final complexion of racial mixing in Brazil. His notes are copious and offer an excellent *entr ee* into the multilingual bibliography on the history of slavery in the Americas.

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MARÍA ELENA GARCÍA: *Making Indigenous Citizens: Identity, Development, and Multicultural Activism in Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

María Elena García's book is a timely and welcome addition to the growing body of scholarly literature on the current wave of indigenous movements in Latin America. García takes as a departing point the rejection of conventional views on Peru as an exceptional case study for not having experienced the development of indigenous social movements similar to those in Ecuador and Bolivia. Instead, she is able to make a compelling and fascinating case for the existence of strong indigenous politics in Peru around issues of culture, education, identity, and citizenship.

The book's central object of study, the contested nature and politics of intercultural and bilingual (Quechua/Spanish) education in the Peruvian highlands, serves as a tool to explore processes and meanings intrinsically embedded in that project. From this initial focus, the book then explores "the varying (and competing) representations of indigenous identity, education, and citizenship in local, national, and transnational spaces", understood as "zones of engagement in which indigenous community members, state officials, and development practitioners (among others) construct, and disrupt, negotiate and contest the means and ends of multicultural policies." (2) Theoretically, the analysis draws on a post-liberal conception of cultural citizenship, in which the "making of indigenous citizens" is not restricted to the state and political institutions but rather is a process shaped by a multitude of tensioned actors and forces at dif-

ferent fields and levels. To capture this complexity, the author bases her study on a multi-sited anthropological approach rooted in solid research in the Peruvian highlands and Bolivia.

After laying out its methodology and conceptual framework in the Introduction, the book is organized in six chapters divided in three sections. The first section, comprising two chapters, provides a broad historical framework for the book's central arguments. The first chapter explains the shifting relationship between the Peruvian state and the indigenous peoples since 1980, with an emphasis on the rise of indigenous politics and bilingual multicultural education in the 1990s. The second chapter traces the history of Peruvian thought regarding the place of indigenous groups within the nation since the nineteenth century, which shaped the politics of intercultural activism in the 1990s. This clear and well-written section allows the reader to grasp the contradictions that have frequently characterized the conflicted relationship between the state, *indigenista* intellectuals, intercultural activists, and the indigenous peoples. This is the case, for example, of the weakening of institutional democracy under Alberto Fujimori's administration in the 1990s, whose authoritarian and neo-liberal policies nevertheless went hand in hand with the opening of spaces for, and a significant revival of, indigenous claims and movements.

García's remarkable ability to render those contradictory processes in clear words is in full display in the three chapters of the second section, the book's core, based on her extensive fieldwork alternated with insightful theoretical observations. Analyzing the conflicts and problems sparked by the implementation of bilingual and intercultural education in the Peruvian highlands, chapters three and four carry out a veritable anthropology of state/society relations involving state institutions, NGOs, intercultural activists, and local indigenous communities. In what this reviewer sees as a major strength of the book, its solid research dismisses easy and stereotyped explanations regarding the relations among those actors. The rejection of bilingual education promoted by the state, NGOs, and activists by the parents of indigenous children, as well as their demand for education in Spanish, cannot be attributed to "false consciousness" or ignorance. While it could certainly be seen as perpetuating historical patterns of subjugation, cultural loss, and racism, the parents' testimonies as well as the author's analysis challenge the reader to see it as related to indigenous demands for rights, participation, and autonomy in their own terms. In both chapters, intercultural activists defending bilingual and intercultural education appear as the key mediators in the tense relationship between the state, NGOs, rural teachers, and indigenous communities. The text makes explicitly clear the wide gap between the ideals of bilingual intercultural education and its meaning and

problems of implementing it, affected by structural lack of resources, top-down policies and styles, and traditional prejudices.

The last chapter in the second section is an ethnographic exploration of the Center for Andean Studies “Bartolomé de las Casas” (CBC) in Cuzco and the Program for Training in Bilingual Intercultural Education for Andean Countries (PROEIB Andes) in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Both centers are presented as examples of the interconnectedness of transnational, national, and local contexts in the process of intellectual and cultural production of Indianness and the reconfiguration of indigenous identity. The participation of Peruvian intercultural and indigenous intellectuals and activists in these spaces moved their focus of discussion from bilingual education to the rights of indigenous people to language, education, and technology. Also, and supported by interviews with indigenous leaders, García argues that indigenous rights and movements should not be necessarily considered as opposed to modernity. Instead, use of technology and participation in transnational movements and organizations has allowed the expansion of local spaces and the development of localized identities that are simultaneously globally constituted. At the same time, the author is careful to point out the potential tensions and conflicts between these new well-trained, technologically-conscious, modern indigenous leaders and the local communities.

The last section is composed of one chapter where García summarizes the book’s conclusions. As in the rest of the book, here she demonstrates an excellent command of current historical and anthropological theoretical debates on indigenous movements in Peru and Latin America that highlights the comparative value and relevance of this work. The author reaffirms the need to reject binary conceptions of success/failure for Peru, in particular, and indigenous movements in general. A new conceptualization of social movements’ theory is needed for a critical understanding of the dynamic and multi-layered process of constitution of indigenous citizenship and identity. To a large extent, the book’s success in proving these points, by combining theoretical sophistication, solid fieldwork, and writing clarity, shows that this is certainly the most stimulating and fruitful path to explore the struggles of indigenous peoples in contemporary Latin America.

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